



UNIVERSITY  
OF NATAL

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DURBAN

# **A BANTU HOMELAND**

**AN EXCURSION HANDBOOK**

**"FOCUS ON CITIES" CONFERENCE**

**Excursion, Wednesday, 10th July, 1968**



**INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH**

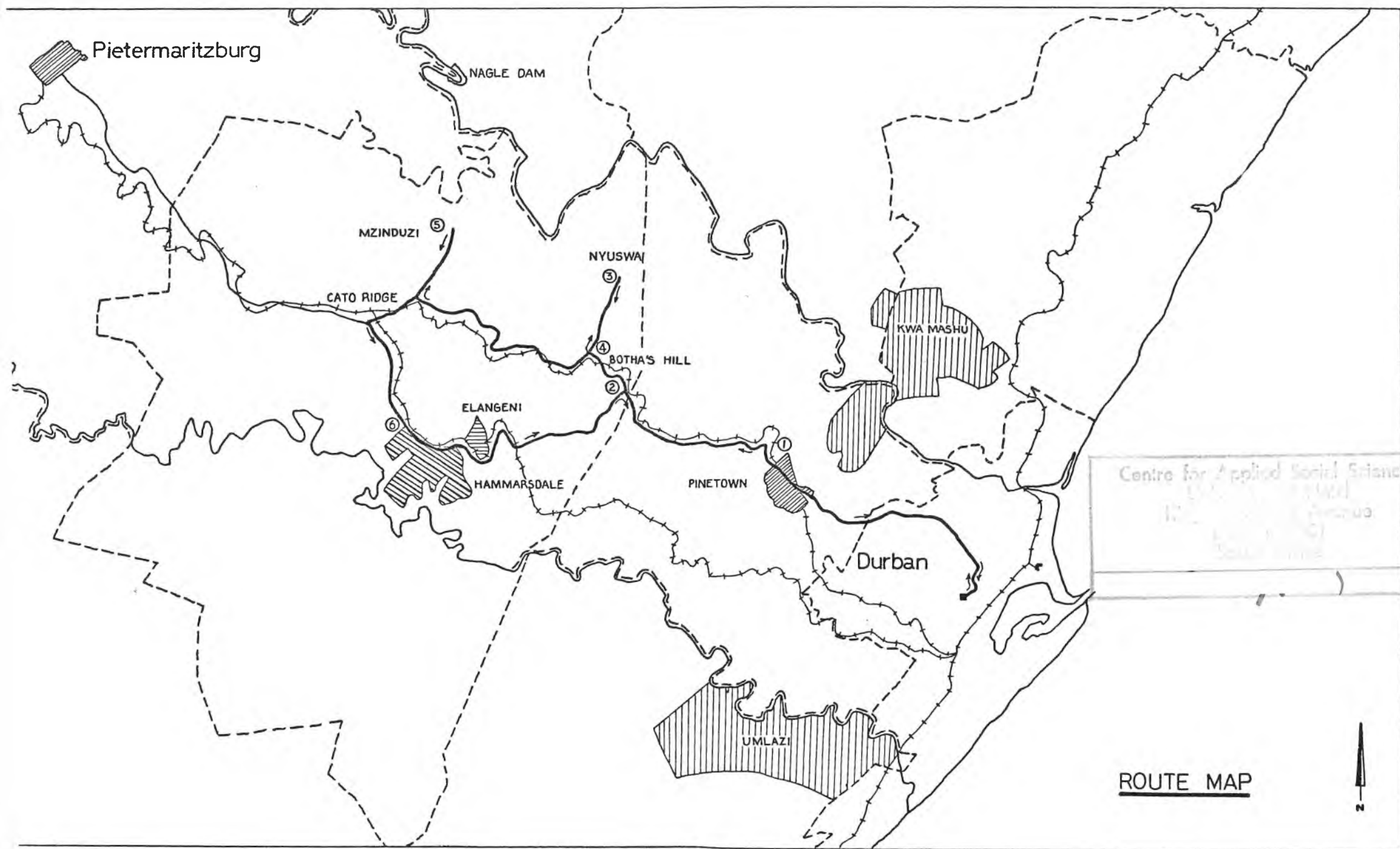


FIG.1.



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UNIVERSITY OF NATAL, DURBAN.

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EXCURSION GUIDE -

A BANTU HOMELAND

Wednesday, 10th July, 1968.

OBJECTIVES:

Problems of development in the Bantu reserves or Homelands of South Africa have attracted attention for some considerable time. They have been an area of particular interest also in the various fields of social science. The principle objective of the excursion is therefore to observe in the field the various types of development which are being propagated within the Bantu reserves of South Africa today.

The immediate hinterland of Durban contains Bantu reserves of considerable extent within which practically all the major developmental elements in the betterment programme can be studied at close quarters. It is hoped that they will provide a focus for the observation and discussion of the Bantu homeland development programme. The pooling of the experience and knowledge of social scientists, Government officials and other interested persons should ensure a unique experience.

In the course of the excursion particular attention will be paid to the following development elements in the Bantu homelands:

- a] "Traditional" rural settlement patterns, agriculture and social structure.
- b] Rural resettlement and planning.
- c] Border industrial development.
- d] An experiment in health and dietary extension in the homelands.

While it is possible in the Durban area to study also large scale urbanisation and township development on reserve land (such as at Umlazi) and traditional agriculture to which cash-cropping has been grafted, (as in the Umlazi Reserve) time will not allow for these particular elements to be studied. They will, no doubt, however, form part of the discussions during the course of the excursion.

### THE BANTU HOMELANDS OF NATAL

The total extent of the Bantu areas in Natal is approximately 3,600,000 morgen. They occupy approximately one-third of the total area of the Province and contain 50 per cent of its total Bantu population.

#### Natal Nguni

While the Natal Nguni today are known as Zulu and speak isiZulu, historically they were not directly incorporated into the Zulu Empire or any other large kingdom. From the time of Shaka, small groups living in Natal, south of the Tugela River and north of Pondoland, were subject to frequent raids by Zulu regiments and by various groups fleeing from the Zulu kings. So great was the destruction and chaos caused by these invaders, that many of the pre-Shakan tribes in Natal were annihilated, leaving only a few remnants to join larger fleeing tribes. Northern Nguni fleeing from the Zulu, as the Thembu and Bhaca, did not remain in

Natal where they would have been easily decimated by their pursuers, but rather continued to the Eastern Cape. Only small groups were left scattered in the less accessible regions of Natal, while the best land remained vacant until occupied by European settlers.

In Natal, then, there was no strong Nguni kingdom united in opposition to Europeans. Much of the land settled by farmers and missionaries was temporarily vacant when they arrived, and various Nguni tribes moved into this area only under the protection afforded by Europeans against Zulu raiders. Today's spatial distribution of Natal peoples continues to reflect the situation existing when the Europeans first arrived. With the decline of Zulu power and the end of raiding in Natal, some Nguni tribes moved back into the area from the Cape and from Zululand. Christian (Kholwa) groups also moved into the mission reserves set up by missionaries for their congregations in Natal, and in this way whole new chiefdoms were established, as in the Inanda and Hammarsdale regions. Most Natal chiefdoms have thus been settled in their present locations for about a century, and have remained comparatively small and autonomous political entities, differing in historical origins and in present-day reaction to Western influences.

In Natal (excluding Zululand) scheduled reserves were first demarcated by the Natal Native Land Commissions of 1846-7, 1848, and 1852-3, and were vested in the Natal Native Trust constituted in 1864. Since that time, more

land has been added and the original boundaries of the reserves have been modified.

The pattern originally laid down was essentially that of a checker-board, with the aim of providing an adequate labour force for farmers, and also apparently of dividing tribes so that the chances of uprisings might be minimised. Each reserve or location was intended to support some 10,000 to 12,000 people.

The Bantu areas occupy the most broken, hilly and mountainous parts of the Province, and it has been suggested that the distribution of the reserves is related to three possible explanations:

- a] Geographical - the Bantu's inherent preference for certain environments, so that the demarcation merely followed the existing settlement pattern.
- b] Historical - the habitation of difficult and inaccessible country in a desire for security from the tyrannous power of the Zulu King; Shaka.
- c] Sociological - the presence of Europeans upon the more open, less hilly, and more desirable lands.

There is little doubt, however, that the pattern today is largely the inheritance of the arbitrary delimitation of 100 years ago.

In Zululand the demarcation of Bantu reserve lands was not undertaken until 1904, and, while the members of the Zululand Lands Delimitation Commission were careful to disrupt Bantu life and settlement as little as possible, they were strongly guided by the route of the existing railway line to the north, and by the suitability of the

coastlands for sugar cane cultivation, in providing as much land as they could "conscientiously" justify for European occupation.

In addition to the Bantu locations or reserves 19 mission reserves, comprising 68,305 morgen were established in Natal. These were granted between the years 1862 and 1887 to various Missionary Societies with the object of promoting religious and educational work amongst the Bantu. The mission reserves were located mainly in the broad coastal strip between the Tugela and the Umzimkulu Rivers.

The Natal Native Trust was merged in the South African Bantu Trust under the provisions of the Native Trust Land Act, 1936. More recently the mission reserve lands have also been vested in the South African Bantu Trust.

Today, Natal and Zululand are a mosaic of tribes whose members often live scattered over many districts. The Department of Bantu Administration in a map recently constructed has identified 157 individual tribal groups in Natal and Zululand.

Under the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, and the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959, a new administrative system has been introduced to the Natal and Zululand reserves in common with Bantu-held land elsewhere in the Republic. The administration is headed by the Commissioner General to the Zulu with his seat at Nongoma. The Commissioner General is the



link between the Central Government and the African population. Apart from justice, which is administered through the Bantu Commissioners, affairs are conducted through a system of Tribal, Regional and Territorial Authorities.

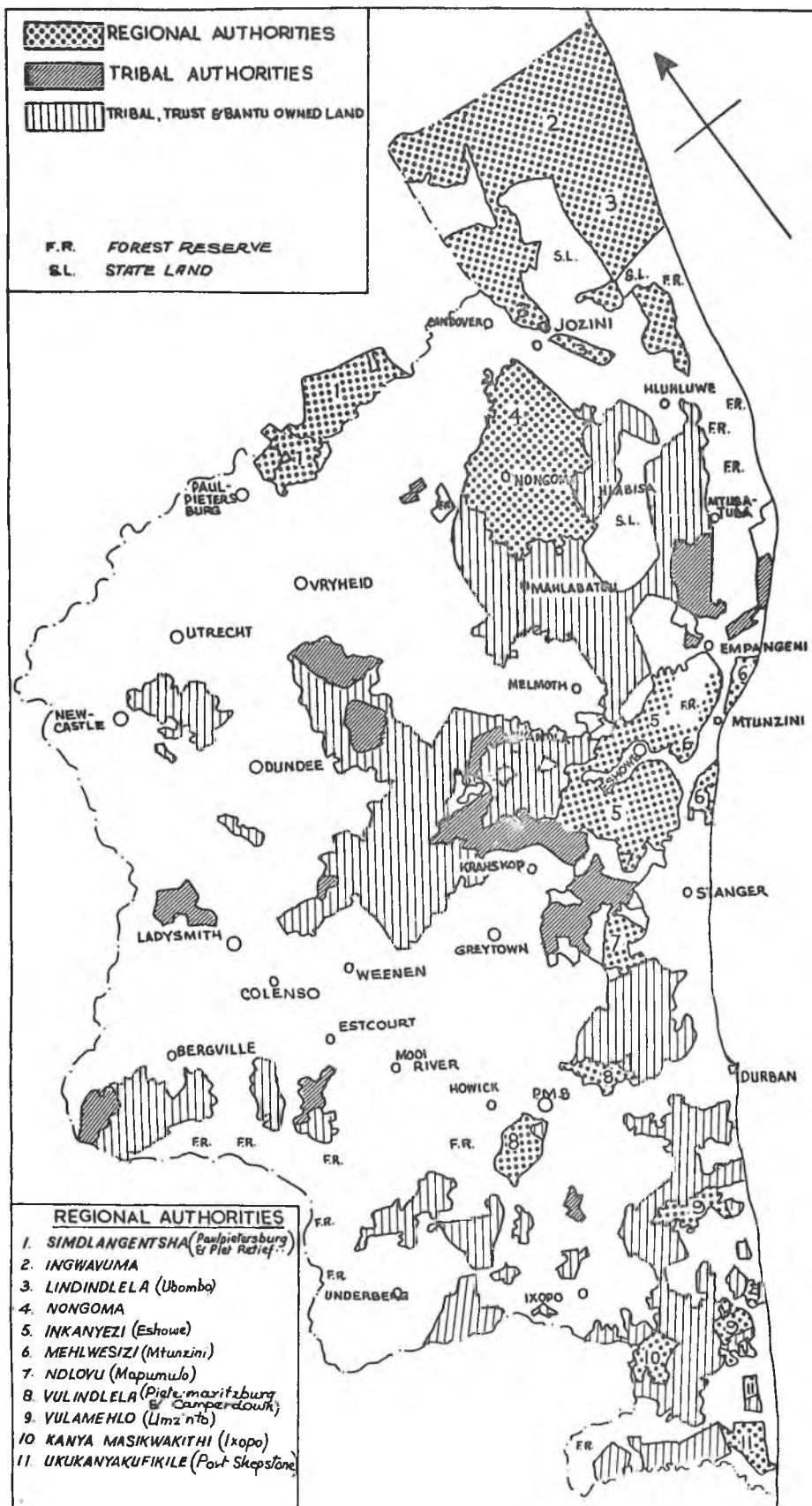
The system of Tribal Authorities is very incomplete in Natal and Zululand as many tribes have not yet accepted the system.

There are today 12 Regional Authorities in Natal and Zululand, comprising groups of tribes. (Fig. 2.) No Territorial Authority, the highest rank of administrative machinery, has yet been established in Natal or in Zululand. At this stage there is very little research in depth to show the degree to which the new administrative system has percolated downwards into the day-to-day life of the people inhabiting the reserve areas.

#### PRIVATELY OWNED BANTU LAND

Prior to Union, Bantu were entitled to purchase land privately anywhere in the Province, but the 1913 legislation restricted buying to purchases from Bantu owning land outside a released area or from anyone within a released area. Most of the existing private Bantu land was bought before Union, and its distribution is confined mainly to the northern and southern districts of Natal.

FIG. 2



RESERVE LANDS

## THE ENVIRONMENTAL BACKGROUND TO THE NATAL BANTU AREAS

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A key problem in the development of the Bantu areas of Natal is the very broken nature of the terrain upon which they are located. In a Province already handicapped by too much rough terrain the Bantu areas possess an abnormally high percentage of broken land. Of the total, approximately 58 per cent of the land in the Bantu areas may be classified as either very hilly or mountainous, while a further 19 per cent is hilly and only 23 per cent of the area is classified as flat or undulating.

In such terrain, often consisting of deep valleys, experiencing high temperatures and relatively low rainfalls, agricultural productivity is precarious at its best.

In Natal, if the factors of excessive slope and low rainfall alone are considered, about 70 per cent of the area of the Bantu reserves can be regarded as land of poor quality and generally unsuited to cultivation. Good quality land occurs only in limited localities in the Bantu areas of the coastal belt south of the Tugela River, in a few localities in the midlands, and in some of the valley lands of the interior.

Slope by itself, however, is not everywhere a limiting factor. In the congested Bantu areas of the coastal hinterland for example, all but the most

precipitous slopes are cultivated, and sheer availability of land is a major determinant in the utilization pattern.

Soil type in the reserves is a further important factor in assessing the development pattern. Soil types in the Natal reserves range from clay-like podzolic soils of the coastal hinterland mainly south of the Tugela valley, to the mist-belt soils of the Natal midlands and southern Natal, the lowveld soils of the upper Tugela valley and Central Zululand, and the sandy coastal soils of northern Zululand and Tongaland.

Local variations in soil are important in understanding patterns of settlement at the detailed level. In the reserves of the coastal hinterland for example, the granite soils, even on steep slopes, are preferred to the sandy Table Mountain sandstone soil on flatter but generally more elevated sites. Similarly, the chocolate loams derived from Dwyke tillite are much preferred to the sandstone soils in the Umlazi reserve. In fact, where they can be avoided, area of Table Mountain sandstone are almost devoid of arable lands in the Bantu areas.

Areas of moderate rainfall, between 30 and 40 inches per annum, are generally favoured, while the hot dry valleys of the lower Tugela valley and the valleys of Zululand have insufficient rainfall for successful crop cultivation and tend to be less heavily populated even though the soils are better than those of higher rainfall areas. On the other hand, regions of excessively high rainfall of more than 50 inches per annum are

also avoided if in elevated and exposed localities, as for instance in the Drakensberg reserves.

The combination of physical elements varies widely in their influence upon the availability of arable land and upon population density, and no single element throughout the Bantu reserves can be regarded as an absolute determinant governing the distribution of arable land. However, the distribution of arable land of whatever quality greatly affects the general pattern of settlement, and of kraal sites by the arrangement of arable grazing and residential land.

On the basis of location, relief, climate and vegetation, the Bantu reserves of Natal fall into the following four major regional divisions:

1. Northern Zululand and Tongaland Reserves.

These reserves fall into seven magisterial districts (Ngwavuma, Ubombo, Hlabisa, Lower Umfolozi, Entonjaneni, Mahlabatini, and Nongoma). The reserves fall readily into a hilly upland group to the west of the north coast railway and a coastal plain group to the east.

2. The Tugela Valley Reserves.

The Tugela Valley Reserves comprise either the whole or parts of the magisterial districts of Nqutu, Msinga, Nkandhla, Kranskop, Eshowe, Mtunzini, with parts of Dundee, Klip River, and Mapumulo.

Practically the entire area is rugged in relief and is dominated by the mid-Tugela basin. Rainfalls in the Tugela valley itself are frequently low and provide environmental conditions more severe than in the northern reserves.

### 3. The Southern Coastal Hinterland Reserves.

These lie south of the Tugela River and occupy the dissected coastal hinterland of Natal. They fall within the districts of Mapumulo, Umvoti, New Hanover, Inanda, Camperdown, Pinetown, Lower Tugela, Ndwedwe, Umlazi, Richmond, Umzinto, Ixopo, Alfred, and Port Shepstone. The coastal hinterland has a very rugged relief but enjoys moderately high rainfalls except in deep valley locations. The reserves adjoin the most highly developed region in Natal and abut upon the Durban and Pietermaritzburg Metropolitan Areas. They have very high population densities and perhaps the most complex settlement patterns in Natal.

### 4. The Drakensberg Foothills.

The reserves in this area lie along the foot of the Drakensberg escarpment from Paulpietersburg in the north to the Underberg area in the south. The reserves lie in rough foothill country, and to the south of the Tugela River are characterised by a cool moist climate.

On the basis of population density the reserves of Natal fall into a threefold classification. These are:

1. Sparsely populated: fewer than 50 persons per square mile - Tongaland and Zululand coastal plain.
2. Moderately densely populated (between 50 and 100 persons per square mile) - most of the Zululand and Drakensberg reserves.
3. Densely populated (more than 100 persons per square mile) - the coastal hinterland south of the Umhlatuzi River.

The variation in population density can be attributed to a combination of physical and human factors. These include poverty of environment and a limited amount of land suitable for cultivation. In general, however, historical and social factors, including the distribution of the Bantu tribes at the time the locations were originally delimited, are of greater importance. The general movement towards White areas with their opportunities for wage labour, the effects of urbanisation, and movement to reserves situated within a reasonable distance of the Province's larger towns are other factors of significance.

#### BANTU AREAS OF THE DURBAN/PIETERMARITZBURG REGION

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The Bantu areas of the Durban/Pietermaritzburg region fall into eight magisterial districts as illustrated in Figure 3. They include the Inanda, Telongo, Umlazi, and Swartkop reserves. The reserves cover an area of approximately 506,000 acres or 790 square miles in the eight districts. They comprise approximately

23 per cent of the total area occupied by reserves in Natal. An unknown area of land purchased by the South African Bantu Trust and privately owned Bantu land is not included in these figures.

Geographically, by far the largest proportion of the Bantu Area land in the region is situated in the Inanda reserve in the north, and the Umlazi reserve in the south. The Swartkop location, however, occupies a considerable though smaller tract of land to the west of Pietermaritzburg and the Telongo reserve is situated in the Richmond district.

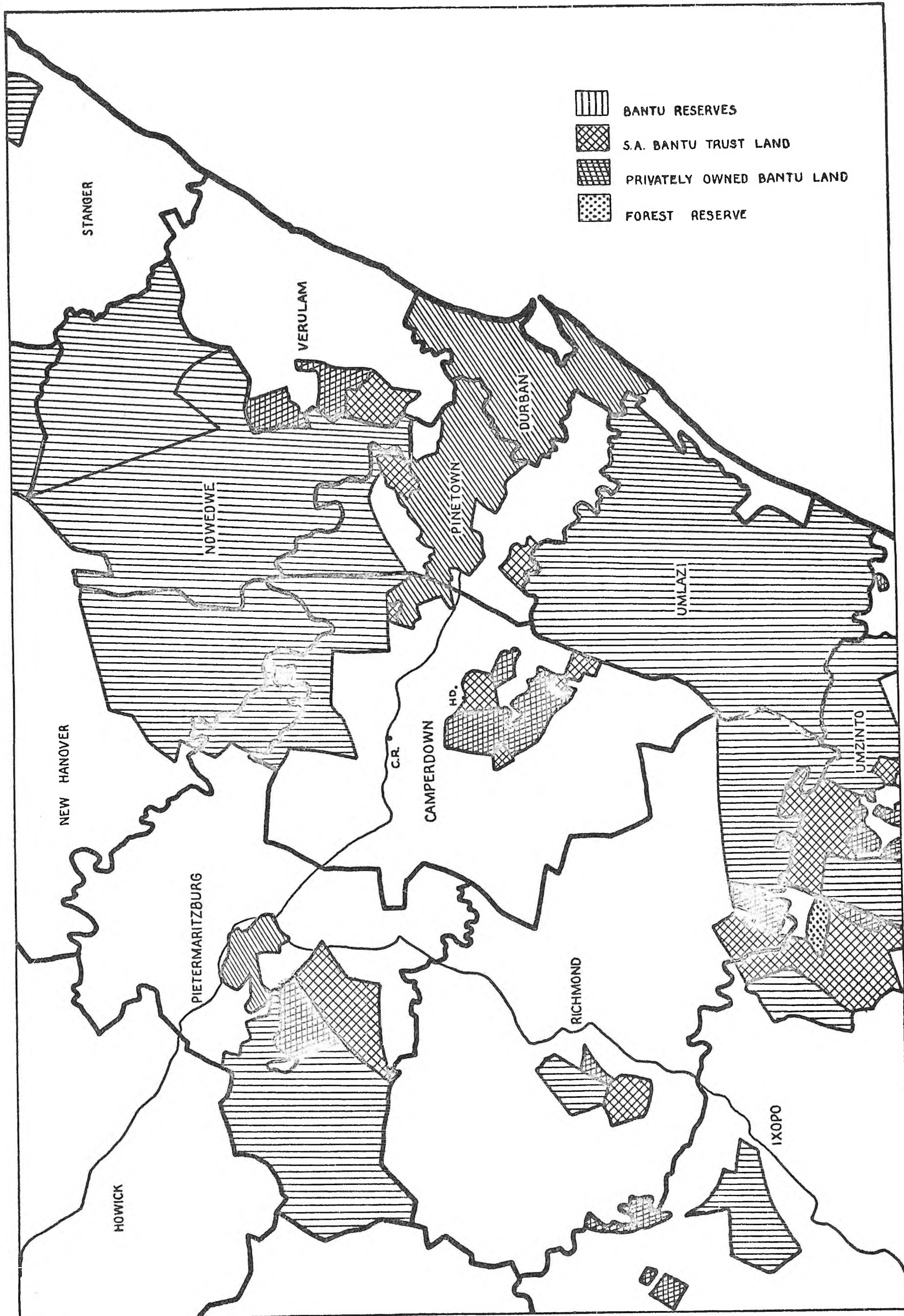
To the north and south of Durban, the Bantu areas are separated from the coast by corridors of White owned land. It is only to the south of Karridene that the Umlazi reserve actually fringes the coast. Westwards a broad corridor of White owned land stretches between Durban and Pietermaritzburg, widening out in the Camperdown district on to the Midlands bench.

#### THE INANDA RESERVE.

The Inanda reserve includes the Bantu areas of the Ndwedwe district and the adjacent New Hanover, Pietermaritzburg, Camperdown and Pinetown districts. To the north lies the Mapumulo reserve in the districts of Umvoti and Mapumulo. Originally the two reserves were intended for a population of not more than 30,000 persons. In 1960 the Bantu population of part of Inanda reserve alone was of the order of 75,000 - 80,000. The density



FIG. 3.



THE RESERVES OF THE DURBAN-PIETERMARITZBURG AREA

of the population represented by this figure is between 150 and 200 persons per square mile. In some localities however, the density exceeds 200 persons per square mile, and in Camperdown is more than 264 persons per square mile.

TABLE I

GENERAL STATISTICS OF LAND AND POPULATION 1966.

Reserves	Area S.A.B.T. Acres	Pvt. Land Acres	Tot. Pop. S.A.B.T.	Tot. Pop. Pvt. Land	Mean Pop. Density P/Sq.m.
Inanda	291,670	10,124	73,053	8,698	182
Umlazi	213,306	14,093	75,517	8,418	236
Zwartkop	93,321	3,013	42,500	15,575	-

Note: Statistics provided by the Department of Bantu Administration are given for Bantu Areas by Magisterial District. The area and population for the reserves in the Table are therefore approximations by combining the statistics for individual Magisterial Districts as follows:

Inanda: Camperdown, Ndwedwe, New Hanover, Pinetown.

Umlazi: Umlazi and Richmond (excluding the Umlazi Township.)

Zwartkop: Pietermaritzburg. The statistics include a small portion of the district which falls within the Inanda Reserve.

The Inanda reserve falls almost entirely within the dissected coastal hinterland of Natal. It occupies finely dissected granite country lying between the sandstone limbs of the Natal monocline. It is hilly to mountainous, and level or undulating land is limited to no more than plateau remnants of isolated Table Mountain sandstone mesas, or occasional bevelled sections of the granite itself. A major portion of the reserve is occupied by the lower drainage basin of the Umgeni River system, and much of the land forms a part of the famous Valley of a Thousand Hills.

Despite a strong contrast between plain and valley, the distribution of population is remarkably even and if anything the steep valley sides, especially where they open out to even the smallest degree, appear more densely populated than the smoother plateau tops. Within the Valley of a Thousand Hills itself the only areas not inhabited are the exposed and generally inaccessible tops of the narrow Table Mountain sandstone remnants. Where these remnants have wider tops and are accessible they may be fairly thickly populated. In general, however, it is the granite areas that are the most densely populated.

The inhabitants appear to prefer the hilly slopes to the flatter but exposed plateau summits. Where the summit levels are cut across the granite, however, they are generally heavily populated. Where crest lines are served by roads settlement is even more concentrated as

is the case along the crest of the Nyuswa ridge which the excursion will visit. The granite summits provide moderately fertile soils for cultivation, and due to gentle undulations can provide less exposed sites for huts. They are, too, not as elevated as the Table Mountain sandstone plateaus, which stand some 300 to 500 feet higher.

Within the granite terrain any local opening out of valleys, with consequent increases in availability of arable land, produces heavier concentrations of population.

Water is nowhere a problem to settlement and rivers, streams and springs provide a more or less perennial supply. Water is thus not as strong a localising factor as the presence of arable land and inhabitants often walk many miles to procure their daily water requirements. More important as a factor in location of population is accessibility to the European farming areas and to the roads and railways providing links to Durban and Pietermaritzburg. Partly for this reason, the southern and eastern parts of the Inanda Reserve are heavily populated. Many of the abled bodied men of working age in these areas travel either daily or weekly to work in Durban.

Whereas growing population pressure upon the land has made it increasingly difficult to find areas of suitable arable land, it is still customary for each kraal to be allocated its own area for use for cultivation. Some kraals today, however, are purely residential in character, and have no agricultural land at their disposal.



Rural redevelopment has progressed in the Inanda reserve in recent years but its agriculture is still basically traditionally organised.

In common with the reserves in the rest of Natal, the greatest area of land is normally devoted to the cultivation of maize.

TABLE II

AREA AND YIELD PER ACRE OF SELECTED CROPS, 1966.

Reserves	Maize		Sorghums		Sugar	
	Acres	Yield (bags)	Acres	Yield	Acres	Yield
Inanda	19,576	1.40	2,353	3.18	1,129	6.66
Umlazi	14,882	1.75	1,405	1.80	5,370	4.32
Zwartkop	8,073	2.00	1,009	0.50	-	-

Maize occupies possibly between 60 and 70 per cent of the area under crops in any one year. Crops of secondary importance include in particular sorghums, legumes, and root crops, in particular the madumbe( a potato-like tuber) which is frequently cultivated in the Inanda reserve. Fruit and vegetables are grown in the reserve with varying enthusiasm and success. The experiment being conducted by the Valley Trust in the cultivation of vegetables is important in this respect and is discussed in detail at a later stage in the guide book.

Cash crops, in particular sugar, do not play a

significant part in farming in the Inanda reserve. It is only on the eastern edges of the Ndwedwe district, where access to transport is possible, that sugar cane has more recently been introduced into the traditional farming system. The bulk of the reserve, except for its eastern and southern fringes, has very poor transport and communications links with the major areas of economic development, a factor which is likely to hinder the growth of the reserve in the future.

The sale of fruit and vegetables at farm stalls along roads however may play an important role in the income pattern of individual farmers.

The amount of land cultivated by individual homesteads is usually small, possibly between 1.75 acres and 2 acres per household. Cultivation methods are generally poor, and productivity is consequently low. Varying estimates of crop yields suggest that the average maize yield per household is about 1.8 to 3 bags per acres (1.4 bags in 1966). Since the estimated minimum requirement of maize per family of say six persons is about 16 bags of grain, the shortfall in food production is probably considerable. Income from cash wages earned in non-agricultural activities therefore plays a considerable role in the life of the homesteads of the Inanda reserve.

The Ngumi are essentially a pastoral people but today many households no longer own any cattle. The total number of cattle in the reserve is nevertheless

not inconsiderable.

TABLE III

LIVESTOCK STATISTICS

Reserves	Area Acres	Cattle	Goats	Sheep
Inanda	301,794	43,140	25,272	4,370
Umlazi	227,399	27,580	8,529	2,021
Zwartkop	96,334	18,060	5,569	461

Recent estimates suggest that 72 per cent of the homesteads in the Inanda reserve had no cattle. Goats, however have tended to increase in numbers and are acceptable as beasts for ritual slaughter, and for lobola payments.

In 1967 the extent of land planned under the betterment programme of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development in the reserve was approximately 32,000 morgen or 23 per cent of the total area. The proportion is considerably lower than the percentage of planned land in Natal which in 1967 was approximately 36 per cent of the Bantu areas. Rural planning and redevelopment will be studied in some detail in the Umzindusi area of the reserve, to be visited by the excursion.

THE UMLAZI RESERVE.

The Umlazi reserve occupies practically the whole of the Umlazi district and also a portion of the district of Richmond. A tract of recently purchased Bantu Trust Land and privately owned land borders the reserve in the Camperdown district. It is upon part of this land that the Bantu township in the Hammarsdale border industry area has been established. The Umlazi reserve occupies an area of 333 square miles.

Most of the Umlazi reserve possesses a much smoother relief than that of the Inanda reserve to the north. The reserve is underlain by younger rocks including Table Mountain sandstone, Dwyka tillite, and Eccra sandstone and shales. The area occupied by the Table Mountain sandstone, mainly in the western half of the reserve, however, is again less hospitable and the landscape built upon these rocks is generally upland country frequently scarred by deep valleys.

The most sought after soils in the reserve are the chocolate brown loams developed on the Dwyka tillite. This partly explains the higher population densities in the eastern half of the reserve. The deep valleys of the Umkomaas, Illovo and Umlaas rivers, though less densely populated, are nevertheless by no means empty. Among the most densely settled areas in the reserve are the former mission reserves of Umlazi, Amanzimtoti and Effumi, all of which have been long established. The famous school at Adams Mission for example is located on



the former Amanzimtoti Mission Reserve.

Heavy population densities in the eastern half of the reserve, however, are also the result of the attraction of the urban areas of Durban and the South Coast resorts, and the railway line to the south. In the north-eastern corner of the reserve, densities are as high as 350 to 400 persons per square mile in the rural areas. This area is thought to represent the highest population density to be found in any scheduled Bantu reserve in South Africa. Bantu have moved onto the land rather as residents than as agriculturalists, and as peri-urban squatters whose daily work is in Durban and not in the reserve.

The building of the Umlazi township (+ 100,000 persons) on the Umlazi mission reserve since 1950 as part of the regional framework of Bantu townships for Durban, has been a natural outcome of the urbanisation process.

Due to the relatively low relief of the Umlazi reserve, moderately fertile soils, together with rain-falls of over 30 inches per annum, commercial cash cropping has developed in recent years. In 1967, 5,370 acres of land was planted to sugar cane, yielding approximately 23,000 tons. The average yield therefore was approximately 4 tons of cane per acre. The yield compares very unfavourably with the average yield on White farms on the Natal South Coast which is approximately 20 tons of cane per acre and reflects poor farm practice and management.

EXCURSION ROUTE GUIDE.

1. Enroute to the Inanda Reserve at Botha's Hill the excursion will traverse the western sector of the Durban Metropolitan Area. The route makes a transect through the upper middle and upper income suburban dormitory towns of Westville, Kloof, Gillitts and Hillcrest and the more complex satellite industrial and commercial town of Pinetown. Pinetown today has a population in excess of 21,000 and employs an industrial labour force of over 16,000. It is Natal's third most important industrial centre. A little to the north is New Germany, an industrial neighbour to Pinetown with a resident population of 2,400 but an industrial labour force of over 11,000 persons.

2. From Hillcrest the route follows the crest-line road first used by the Trekkers on their way to Port Natal in 1838, and affords views over the Inanda Reserve and the Valley of a Thousand Hills.

3. The Nyuswa Tribal Lands<sup>1]</sup>.

The Nyuswa Reserve lies in the Valley of a Thousand Hills, some 35 miles from Durban. It occupies deeply dissected country which, while impressive to the eye, is unsuitable for large-scale farming. Valuable top soil

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1] The information upon which this description of the Nyuswa Reserve is based is drawn mainly from fieldwork results kindly provided by Mrs. Harriet Sibisi, a research worker in the Department of Anthropology, University of Natal, Durban.

is constantly eroded, and what remains is impoverished due to continual use with little replenishment and to over-grazing. Pressure on land makes the traditional patterns of shifting cultivation impossible.

The area has, as yet, not been subject to resettlement, and it provides some approximation to normal Zulu local organisational, agricultural and pastoral patterns. It offers a striking contrast to the Mzinduzi area to the west which has been replanned over the last 4 - 5 years.

Nyuswa has not, however, been unaffected by the general forces making for change in rural areas. This can be seen at every point - in the churches, African stores and schools which are social landmarks for pagan and Christian alike, in changes in architectural patterns and in the road itself which now bisects the Reserve and carries into it the message of the outside world. Development along this road has been considerable and the spur along which it runs is probably the most densely settled in the Reserve. Not only have newcomers sought homes along it, but the Valley dwellers have themselves tended to drift towards it and to the facilities which it offers. A regular bus service runs along the road and links the Reserve with Kloof and Hillcrest, Pinetown, and also Durban. African taxis cruise along it, particularly over weekends. It is the route along which the mobile clinic travels to and from the Health Centre sub-stations, and even a bread van from Pinetown penetrates the Reserve on it. Vans and delivery lorries

find their way along it, carrying furniture, building materials and stores for the shops. Finally, those people lucky enough to live within reach of the road may hire the one tractor in the Reserve to do their ploughing. The Nyuswa road has thus had a tremendous influence on the Reserve and served to accelerate the processes of social changes.

The People: (a) Tribal Representation:

Two tribal groups are represented in the Nyuswa Reserve - the Nyuswa themselves, and the Qadi. The former control approximately five-sixths of the land and the latter only one-sixth.

(b) History:

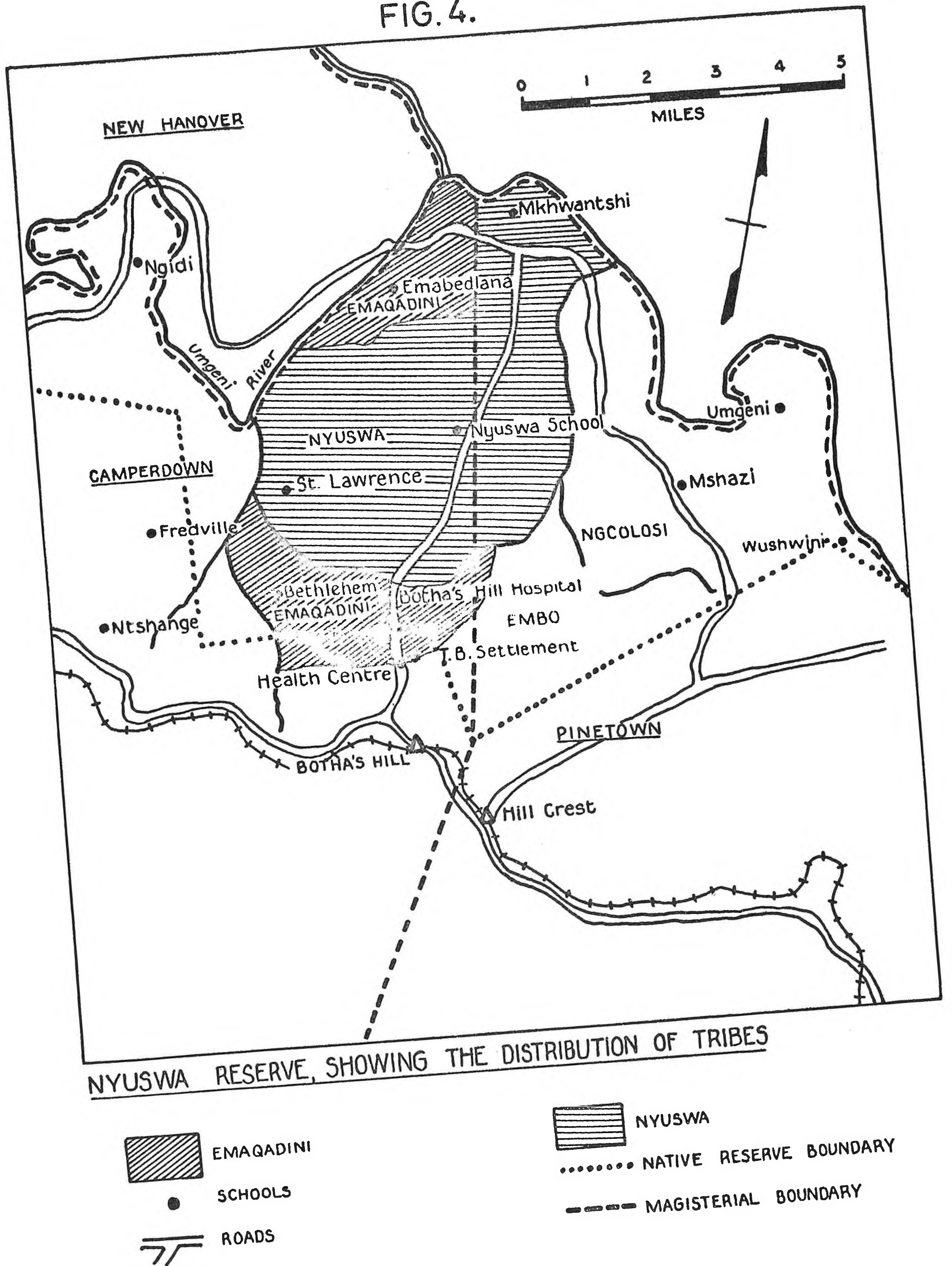
Although their forbears were originally of one classgroup, the Nyuswa and Qadi have regarded themselves as separate tribes since before the reign of Shaka. The Nyuswa in the Reserve are an offshoot of the original Nyuswa tribe which was broken up by Shaka's armies after internal disputes over the chieftainship. This group, under their contender Mgabi, wandered across the Zululand border into Natal in search of land. Finding the Valley of a Thousand Hills open and to their liking, they settled there under his son Ncume. The latter's successor, Chief Mshwa, was asked by Sir Theophilus Shepstone to go to Harding to rule the remnants of further tribes who had poured over the border to escape from the Shaka terror. His brother, and later two Izinduna or headmen were left in charge of the Nyuswa in the Valley. This is the position still. The Nyuswa tribe is thus not a

territorial unit but is settled in different areas of Natal. The Chief himself still resides at Harding. He visits the Valley occasionally in order to try difficult cases or ones taken on appeal to him or in order to give this section of his people directives from the Government.

The Qadi groups in the Reserve were settled later than the bulk of the Nyuswa. Those in the north were given land by Ncume, the father of Mshwa. They followed Madlukane, who had been Regent of the total Qadi tribe during the youth of the heir and who, at the latter's accession to the throne, felt he should leave the tribal area. For a while this group of the Qadi were ruled independently of the mother tribe, but after the death of Madlukane, his son became a Christian and relinquished his rights over the Qadi in the Nyuswa area. They fell once more under the Chief of the general Qadi tribe and still do. As time went by their lands became too small and they begged more land from the Nyuswa. This they were granted since the Nyuswa themselves felt no pressure on their land due to the movement of a large section of the tribe to Harding. The Qadi were, however, told that they must change their allegiance to the Nyuswa Chief. Though they agreed to this, they never, in fact, did so. From this stems the present hostility between the tribes. The Nyuswa, now they are feeling the pressure of land shortage, feel they have a right to the second portion of land given to the Qadi; the latter refuse to give way.



FIG. 4.



Vilakazi<sup>1]</sup> mentions various outbursts of fighting triggered off by this old score. The two Qadi groups, despite their geographical separation, are controlled by one Induna. Cases which go on appeal to the Chief are sent to the Umzinyathi area in the Ndwedwe Magisterial District, where he resides with the bulk of the Qadi tribe.

Despite tribal separation individual Nyuswa and Qadi are linked by ties of kinship. This bond serves to unite the two and often mitigates against the seriousness of inter-tribal hostility. The administrative divisions of the Reserve do not take tribal differences into account, but rather divide the Reserve on the basis of magisterial district. (Fig. 4.)

(c) Christian-Pagan Division:

By far the most important sociological division amongst the people of the Reserve is that between Christian and Pagan. Conversion has served to divide the community along lines which ramify and complicate every aspect of their lives. Christians do not share the same values as Pagans. They are western and even urbanised in outlook, while the latter still accept the traditional values of their forbears. The results of this difference in outlook are clear even to the casual observer. Christians and Pagans build differently, live

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1] Vilakazi, Zulu tribe in Transition - A study of the Nyuswa, University of Natal Press.

in different-sized homesteads, grow different crops and often dress differently. Even though living side by side as they invariably do, Christian and Pagan families associate with each other as little as possible.

#### Local Organisation and Architecture:

Local organisation is based on the kraal or homestead. These can be seen scattered over the hill slopes, each surrounded by its fields and clearly distinguishable from its neighbours. The larger and more established homesteads tend to be laid out on the traditional circular pattern with the cattle kraal as the focus of the whole, and the individual huts arranged about it<sup>1]</sup>. (Fig. 5.) These are usually the homesteads of traditionalists, of whom there are a large number in the area immediately surrounding the Nyuswa School.

Smaller homesteads, and in particular those of Christians, may consist of only one to four huts laid out in a single line which follows the contours of the site. Many homesteads, both Christian and traditional, do not possess cattle and though there may be goat enclosures, these seldom take pride of place as does the cattle kraal. Christians owning cattle do not necessarily build their cattle kraal in the centre of the arrangement of huts. These may instead be situated at the extreme end of the hut line or even outside the

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1] This arrangement mirrors the importance of cattle in the lives of traditionalists, for whom they are the way of contacting the ancestors, the centre of Pagan worship.



# IDEALISED PLAN OF A ZULU KRAAL

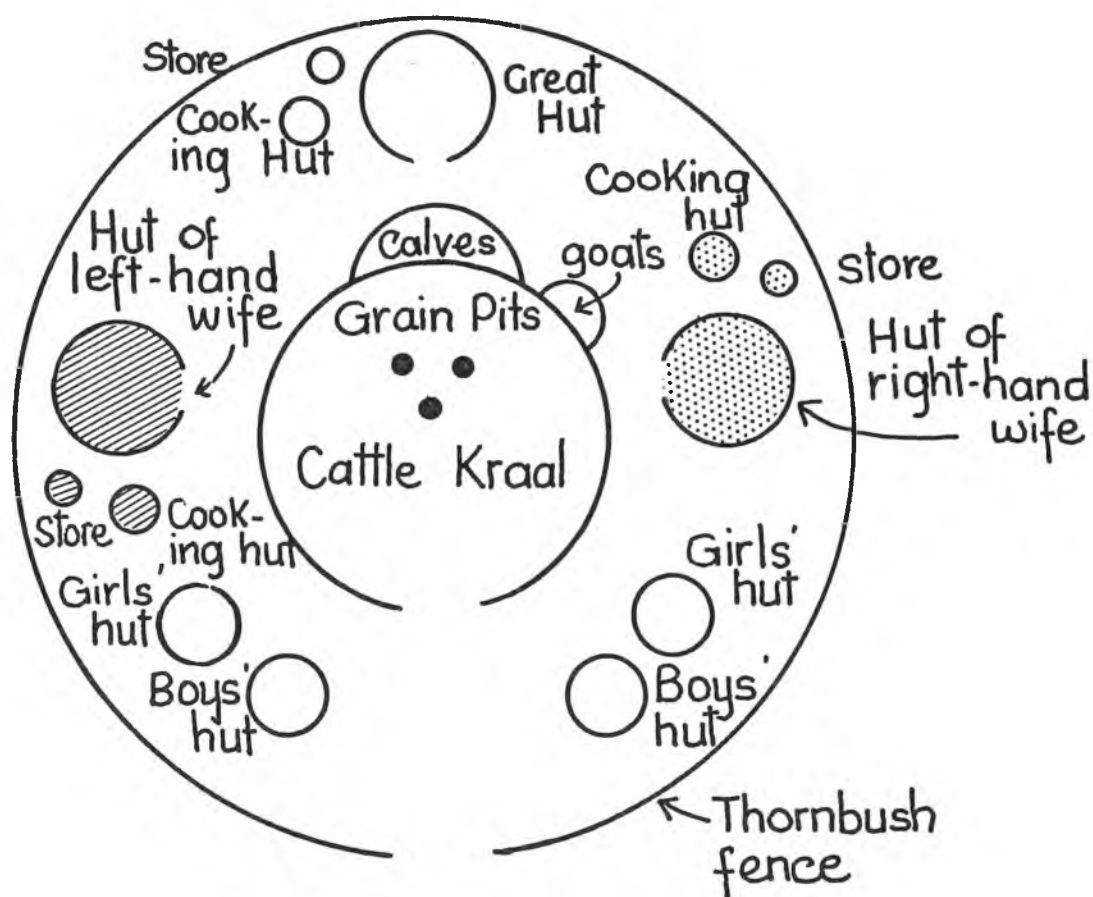


FIG. 5

Centre for Applied Social Sciences  
University of Natal  
King George V Avenue  
Durban 4001  
South Africa

homestead enclosure itself. This is a break with tradition and indicates that while Christians value cattle highly, cattle do not form the centre of their ritual and worship and so their family life, as is the case with Pagans.

Architectural style and building techniques differ widely. While the majority of huts are circular and built of mud on a framework of poles roofed with thatching, a growing number are rectangular, built of mud bricks and roofed with sheets of tin. In traditional kraals the majority of huts are of the circular type though prosperous kraalheads like to build at least one - the main reception hut - on the rectangular pattern. Christians favour the rectangular pattern and are building more and more complex houses consisting of two or more rooms. Even where these houses exist, however, few have stoves, so must be accompanied by small round mud and thatch huts in which cooking is done on an open fire.

It will be noted that small groups of kraals appear to be separated from their nearest neighbours by large tracts of open land or by natural boundaries, such as streams or footpaths. These groupings often indicate the control of the area by a small lineage - a group of kinsmen whose homes usually adjoin each other and who, from the outside, form a strong and unified front under the control of the genealogically most senior male. The Nyuswa, on the general Zulu pattern, are Patrilineal; this is, they trace descent in the male line and the core

of such a lineage is formed by male kinsmen.

These lineages may be effective landowning units. Though theoretically all land belongs to the Chief and is apportioned out according to need, historical circumstance and the Zulu pattern of male kin settling near each other when larger kraals split up, has meant that wide areas of land have been settled over generations by members of one family or lineage. These now regard their rights over this land as almost inviolate so long as they put the land to constant use. Unused land does, in time, revert to the Chief and can be re-allocated to members of other lineages or to individual families. This is how many newcomers manage to enter an area. Certain lineages however, may allow outsiders onto "their" land. These families then owe a great deal to the lineage head. It is largely Christian lineages who have allowed this but it is only other Christians whom they have been willing to tolerate! Traditionalist lineages have been less open to setting newcomers on "their" land, and if they have, have put them on the extremes of their own kraal settlements.

#### Internal Structure of Homesteads:

The internal structure of homesteads differs considerably. The larger ones house extended families. These consist of a number of individual or nuclear units linked in various ways. In the case of Pagans, the tie is often that of Polygeny. One man may have two to four wives. Each wife with her own children form a distinct

unit with her own huts and fields. In long established homesteads the group may include also the wives and families of married sons of the head and any adult unmarried daughters. This type of homestead may be made up of between ten and thirty people and is known by the term "Inxuluma". Though this pattern is fast dying out, a number of such extended families still exist in the Nyuswa area. Alternatively, a man with one wife only, no children and no family or married sons may live together. A number of brothers and their families, particularly of the same mother, may also share a homestead. In the case of Christians to whom polygyny is not allowed, these are often the ties in a larger homestead. Christian homesteads are, however, usually smaller than Pagan one, since Christians tend to stress the individualism of each family unit and so split up soon after marriage or the death of the father. They may, however, include individual relatives of both kraal head and his wife.

#### Economic Organisation:

##### I. Dependence on Migrant Labour -

The outstanding characteristic of the economy of the Nyuswa Reserve is the dependence placed on money brought into it by migrant labour. Various factors such as land shortage and soil infertility have made it virtually impossible for families to subsist on agriculture and herding alone. The basic crop, maize, seldom yields sufficient to last through winter and additional crops (such as beans, pumpkins, madumbe and even potatoes

and sweet potatoes) are seasonal in their yield. Amasi (sour milk), the traditional protein basis of the diet is no longer freely available and even in the cases of families with cattle (estimated as less than 75 per cent in a sample area) dried or tinned milk must be bought for tea or feeding babies. All families frequent the local shops and especially over the winter months depend on them for groceries. Even when home-grown maize, beans, etc. are available, such items as tea and sugar are now established necessities in Pagan and Christian homes alike.

## II. Agriculture and Herding -

Although fields are said to be diminishing in size and extent, it is still accepted that all homesteads should have a minimum of cultivatable land attached to them. Newcomers from town who still rely on jobs there, accept pieces of land hardly bigger than about one-eighth acre. This, however is not approved of by the long-established dwellers and traditionalists who feel that either the Chief, or his representative, the Induna, should not have sanctioned land apportionment to these settlers.

The extent of fields cultivated by each homestead differs widely. This is naturally related to the size and composition of the homesteads themselves. The larger ones which house extended families require more land and have more women to work in fields. Thus while some homesteads may be surrounded by 1 - 2 acres of fields, others may have under  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre under cultivation.

Suitable land surrounding homesteads is usually divided into field strips. Open land may be used as grazing but in the maize season cattle are grazed largely on open slopes and in valleys unsuitable for cultivation. After harvest, cattle wander freely over the fields eating what they can of the stalks and remains of cultivation. Few fences exist as yet to prevent this.

The Nyuswa area is characterised by numbers of rivulets which run along valley beds and provide the local population with a good deal of relatively damp and fertile soil. In this they are atypical of the majority of the Inanda and Ndwedwe area. These lands, are used by traditionalists for growing Amadumbe, (*Colocasia Antiquarum*) a potato-like tuber regarded as a great delicacy. These lands are highly valued and each woman has rights in the strips which belong largely to the older landholding lineages.

#### Division of Labour:

The bulk of agricultural work, ploughing, weeding and harvesting, fell traditionally to women while men cared for cattle and did the ploughing. This is still the norm of today. Where so many men are away in town young boys care for cattle and if at least one male in the family is not at home at ploughing time, the kraal head may take leave or even give up his job to organise this.

Traditionally a woman's prestige as a good wife depended largely on the size of her fields which were

taken as an indication of her industry. This is true today also. Even Christians judge a neighbour on this basis. It must be noted that vegetable cultivation appears to fall outside this sphere. A flourishing bed of cabbages is not rated as highly as a large mealie field. Where men are not working it is often they who are the "gardeners" in the family and who take pride in vegetable cultivation.

#### Field Division:

Within each homestead it is recognised that every adult married woman has a right to fields for the feeding of her "house". In homes with only one wife this presents no difficulties. In extended families, however, the common land must be divided out between wives according to need. This is usually done by the kraal head but his wife, the most senior woman of the group, usually controls the matter. Each wife is responsible for planting, weeding and reaping in her own fields, and if given any help by co-wives, must repay in kind. Young brides usually have to wait some time before being allocated fields, and until then till and eat with senior women to whose unit they are attached. Figure 6 indicates the field allocation in typical Nyuswa extended homesteads. Divisions between fields are clearly recognised and are marked by small lines of grass or by natural features, such as bushes, trees, rocks, etc.

#### Ploughing:

Most of the ploughing in the Valley is still done with cattle. Families who do not own cattle must make

# SKETCH MAP OF KRAAL AND FIELD DISTRIBUTION WITHIN ONE TRADITIONAL LINEAGE IN THE NYUSWA AREA

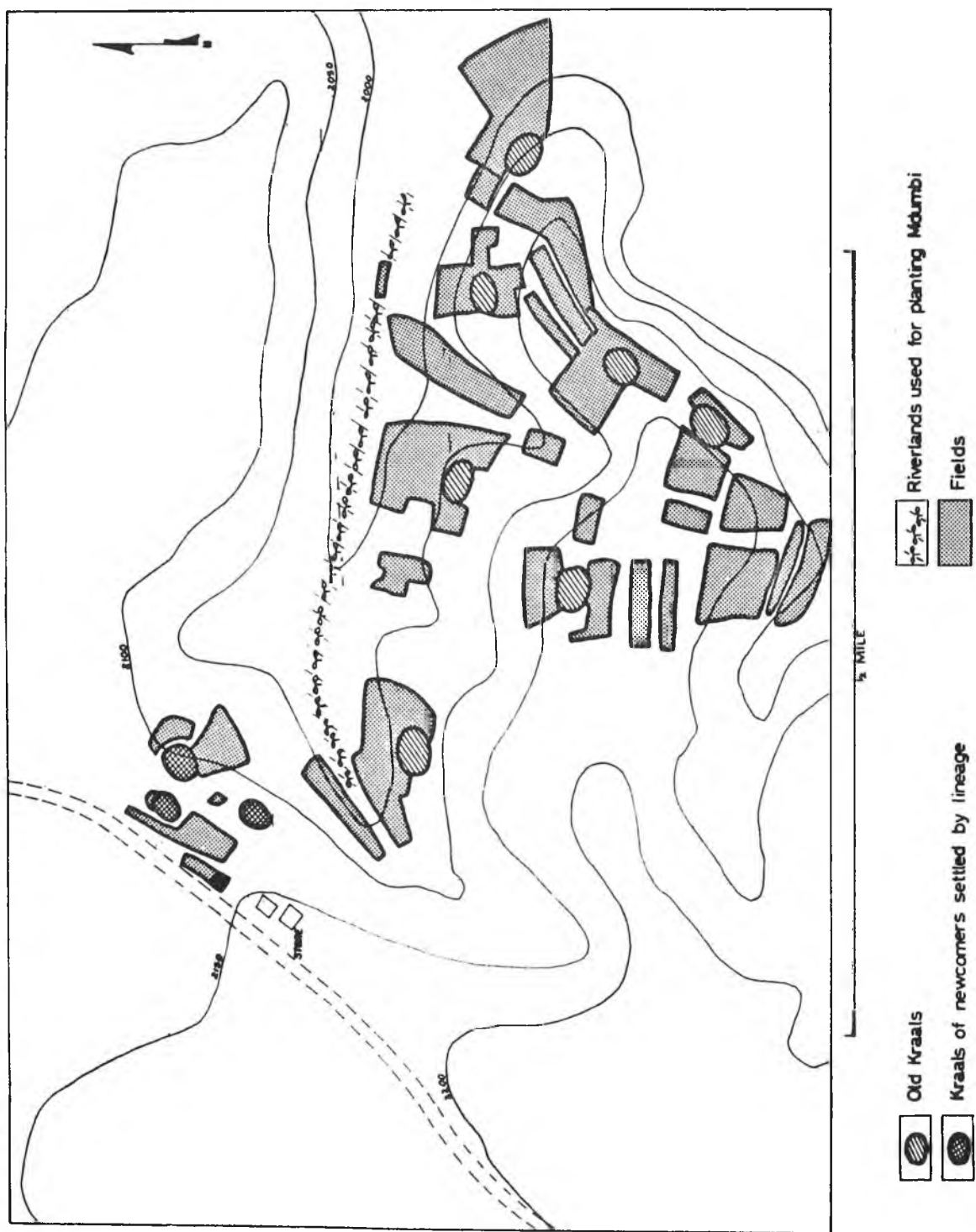


FIG. 6.



arrangements about ploughing well in advance. Several alternatives are open to them. Those people living nearest to the road can hire the one tractor in the area<sup>1]</sup>. For the use of the tractor they pay approximately R11 - R12 for the ploughing of all fields in their possession. Members of lineages whose kinsmen have cattle can call upon the latter to plough for them. This costs nothing but the man in question ploughs largely on the basis of seniority within the lineage and members of a large group may find their fields ploughed late in the season. These cattle-owners also accept payment from non-lineage members and so may plough for neighbours who are not kin. Finally, a few men own donkeys and their services can also be hired. In a minority of cases women may hoe manually.

### III. Diet in Nyuswa -

Studies in the Valley have shown that the dietary patterns<sup>2]</sup> are grossly ill-balanced. The predominant component of the average diet is refined carbohydrate and it is low in such essentials as protein, vitamins and minerals. The dependence upon the trading store, especially during the winter months, means that the bulk of the food is made up from refined maize products such as

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- 1] This was bought with the aid of the Valley Trust and it is rented out by its owner who drives it.
- 2] White, E.: "Report on Investigation into the Nutritional Habits and Problems of the Zulus in the Valley of a Thousand Hills". The Valley Trust, pp. 22-38.

sifted mealie-meal, mealie rice, and samp. Other processed foods, which have little nutritive value, such as cake flour, white bread and commercial sugar, are also popular. Few of the families who cannot produce them themselves, can afford milk for their babies or regular vegetables for their children. Though these items may appear on the menus now and then, the bulk diet is lacking in true health-giving properties.

4. The Valley Trust and the Botha's Hill Clinic and T.B. Settlement : A Socio-Medical Experiment.

Introduction:

Given the agricultural nutritional background of the Nyuswa area - and it is typical of the situation in the vast majority of Natal reserves - malnutrition is clearly a major problem. Its worst manifestations, in illnesses such as kwashiorkor and pellagra, are common. Apart from the problem of chronic malnutrition, however, the majority of the valley dwellers survive on a diet which is hardly sufficient to promote healthy living and growth. They are subject to the insidious effects of so-called 'hidden hunger' which leads over time to a lowering of vital processes, to impaired resistance to microbic and other pathogenic agents of disease and to the development of maladies of many kinds. The Valley Trust is a remarkable and suggestive attempt to deal with this health hazard.

### Aims of the Project:

The Valley Trust is based on the belief that given the above circumstances, the health of the community in the widest sense of the word can never be secured by the mere provision of medical care for the already ailing or even by such palliative measures as the distribution of cheap or subsidised nutritious food. It requires, instead, total action - an attempt to change the very dietary patterns and preferences, and so the agricultural and purchasing practices of the people involved. The basic aim of the Valley Trust experiment is to approach health via correct diet, to persuade the valley dwellers of the connection between food and health, and, via agricultural education, to foster preferences for the more healthy foods.

### Operation of the Project:

Dr. Stott was, in 1951, instrumental in the establishment of the Botha's Hill Health Centre by the State Health Department. He, himself is the Medical Officer attached to the Centre. Adjacent to it, on approximately 100 acres of land, lies the Valley Trust itself. The situation of this complex is ideal. Not only does it border on the Reserve but lies also on the main North Road along which there is constant traffic to and from the Reserve.

#### A. The Health Centre -

Although the Health Centre and the Valley Trust work hand in hand, the former has been described by

Dr. Stott as the 'spearhead' of the operation. The policy of the Centre staff is to hospitalise as few of its patients as possible. After examination and treatment, they are sent home and any further attention is provided by the District Nursing Service attached to the Health Centre. This has established 5 sub-centres in outlying areas and from these treatment is administered weekly. Together with medical aid, all doctors and nurses continually emphasise the importance of correct diet in the treatment of disease and in its prevention. They insist that mothers try to include vegetables, fruit and fish in their children's diet. The close contact with the valley dwellers which the mobile service gives, provides ideal opportunities for health and dietary education. It is upon this foundation that the staff of the Valley Trust work.

#### B. The Valley Trust -

This part of the project functions largely on the basis of demonstration and on the constant availability of agricultural and dietary advice, and help if it is asked for.

##### (i) Demonstration Garden:

On the Valley Trust property, and at the 5 clinic sub-stations the Chief Agricultural Officer, Mr. Mazebuko has established demonstration vegetable gardens. These contain green vegetables such as cabbages and lettuce, and other seasonal varieties of nutritional crops. These can hardly be missed by patients attending the Health Clinic and sub-clinics, and it is hoped that,

fresh from the health education of the doctors and nurses, the latter will be influenced to try similar cultivation on their own. In winter, in particular, when little or nothing is growing in the reserves, the Valley Trust gardens are flourishing and green. The agricultural staff of the Valley Trust go to the homes of any interested families and demonstrate their methods of cultivation.

The critical factor in the agricultural programme of the Valley Trust is that no reliance must be placed upon techniques or agricultural aides which are impractical in the reserve situation at present. Thus, no use is made of expensive chemical fertilizers which the Valley farmers could not afford. Instead, Mr. Mazebugo has developed the 'trench' method of promoting soil fertility. All that is required is a deep trench, soil and veld grass. The soil and grass are placed in the trench in layers and allowed to form a humus bed which is ideal for vegetable cultivation and lasts some years without renewal.

The difficulty with the trench system is the amount of physical labour demanded in the preparation of the trenches. With men largely occupied outside the area as migrant labourers, women find it impossible to trench. The Valley Trust Agricultural Officers are, however, available to aid in this direction.

(ii) Fencing Project:

If vegetables are to be grown all year, particularly

in winter when cattle are normally allowed to wander freely over lands in search of food, fencing of vegetable plots is essential. The Valley Trust has established a fund from which money can be borrowed for the erection of fences or for the purchase of the materials.

(iii) Chicken Deep Litter:

Most Nyuswa families have chickens which run freely around their kraals. Mr. Mazebuko is encouraging their enclosure and the use of chicken manure in gardens.

(iv) Produce Stalls:

Gardeners who manage to produce a surplus are encouraged to establish stalls in the Reserve or to bring their vegetables to a central depot run by the Valley Trust. This serves as an incentive to gardeners and spreads the benefits of their labour over the Reserve.

(v) Fish Ponds:

Fish, particularly the fast breeding Tilapia, are one means of meeting the serious lack of protein in the diet of valley dwellers. The Valley Trust is encouraging the building of small fish dams and so, it is hoped, promoting the inclusion of this valuable item in their diet. The Zulu are not a fish-eating people. The Valley Trust is seeking means of breaking down the tradition taboos and distaste for fish. These dams also provide for fresh, clean water.

(vi) Maize-grinding Mill:

This has been established to encourage increased production and to ensure that all nutriments are retained in the meal eaten.

(vii) Demonstration Cooking Unit:

Finally, next to the demonstration garden the Valley Trust has established a demonstration cooking unit through which the nurses hope to instruct mothers in cooking methods which retain as much as possible of the goodness of the food intact.

Progress and Achievements:

We can do no better than to quote Dr. Stott<sup>1]</sup> himself on this point:

"Co-operation from the community

Accommodation for four of the five sub-centres has been supplied by the Bantu themselves either rent-free or at nominal rental.

Changing attitude of the witchdoctors

The izangoma, indigenous medicine men and women who were formerly opposed to the medical service have, for over ten years now, not only openly attended the clinics for treatment, but have brought or sent patients. Three of the best recently established vegetable gardens are owned by leading izangoma. All three were laid out under Valley Trust supervision. An izangoma who has attended the Health

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1] The Valley Trust - Report given to the S.A. Medical Congress, Durban, July 1967.

Centre for many years and who has taken advantage of The Valley Trust facilities, now includes vegetable gardening as part of the training for her pupils. The importance of 'strength giving food' is also stressed in her training course for witchdoctors!

#### Response to the Gardening Campaign

There are today over 300 home vegetable gardens in the Valley.

In an investigation in 1962 carried out by the African Studies Department of the University of Natal, it was found that the families of all who had made gardens ate the vegetables themselves, 54% of them sold vegetables as well and 90% had recently planted fruit trees. Reasons given for starting gardens included - "so that the children may have green vegetables", "because it is necessary for our health to eat green vegetables in winter"<sup>1]</sup>.

The Valley Trust agricultural section is unable to keep up with requests from valley dwellers for advice and assistance.

Requests for vegetables seedlings increase steadily. In recent years there has been a phenomenal increase in the cultivation of beans throughout the area, coinciding with the intensive propaganda of the Health Centre and The Valley Trust for the greater use of

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1] Krige, E.J.: "Some Aspects of the Impact of The Valley Trust on the Nyuswa and Qadi Tribes of the Valley of a Thousand Hills", The Valley Trust, 1962. pp. 15-21.



this protein food.

#### Produce Stalls in the Reserve

In 1957 The Valley Trust first established the Fresh Produce Market. Within a few years this was followed by a succession of small produce stalls which sprang up along the roadsides in the Valley near home vegetable gardens.

#### Consumption of Home-grown, Whole-grain (unsifted) Mealie Meal

The maize-grinding mill is an increasingly popular project. Maize brought for milling in small 20-30 lb. amounts increased from 11,220 lbs. in 1959 to 47,803 lbs. in 1966.

#### Fish Dams for Food and Water-supply

Five years ago there was not a single pond in the Reserve; today, of the 73 fish ponds in existence, 32 have been built without financial assistance from The Valley Trust.

#### Responsible Repayment of Loans

The co-operation and sense of responsibility shown by almost all those assisted from the Rotating Pool has made it possible for an initial capital sum of only R500, increased slowly after six years to R2,000, to be used many times over in small individual loans averaging R40 to a total value of R5,988. The total amount repaid to date is R3,271, with bad debts totalling only R169. The scheme has been in operation for 7 years."

## 5. The Mzindusi Resettlement Scheme:

### Settlement Scheme Planning in Natal:

Rural redevelopment of the Bantu areas of Natal by means of resettlement schemes has been propagated since 1961 as part of the 5 Year Plans of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. The agricultural planning process is carried out by the agricultural division of the Department through the agency of the Chiefs and Indunas of the approximately 157 tribal groups in Natal and Zululand. An individual resettlement scheme comprises an Induna's ward within the area of a tribal group.

In Natal the following steps are undertaken in the planning of a resettlement scheme:

- a] An approach is made by the Department to the Chief of an individual tribe. The chief and his headmen are instructed on the benefits of planning in order to persuade them to have a preliminary plan of the tribal lands prepared.
- b] If the proposal is accepted, a technical survey is conducted by the Department to ascertain the size of the population and the nature of the terrain.
- c] An ad hoc planning committee, consisting of the Bantu Affairs Commissioner of the district, a Planning Officer, a senior Agricultural Officer and a local Agricultural Officer of the district, is appointed to investigate and draw up the plan.

d] A Bantu Extension Assistant (Planning) is sent to the ward where planning is to take place. He is introduced to the Chief and the ward Induna, both of whom should be closely integrated in the planning process.

e] The Bantu Extension Assistant works closely with the Induna in conducting surveys which include

- i) the accurate determination of the boundaries of the ward, and sub-wards.
- ii) the nature of the tribal social structure and administration.
- iii) an assessment of the extent of suitable arable land.
- iv) an assessment of existing services.
- v) the determination of existing leadership patterns within the tribal group.

f] Senior officials of the Department also conduct surveys to ascertain the possibilities of the area for irrigation, the establishment of plantations, fibre projects, communal gardens, etc. At the same time a survey of the potentialities of the area for crop production and for grazing is undertaken.

g] When the necessary information has been gathered a preliminary plan is prepared, and presented to the Chief and his Indunas for discussion. Amendments to the plan are finalised during the course of the discussions.

h] A final plan is then prepared, and further discussions are held with the Chief. The final elements of the plan are confirmed at this stage. The plan

then receives official approval and is subsequently put into effect.

The size of a resettlement scheme in terms of families to be accommodated, depends upon the potentialities of the land and the size of the community, under the jurisdiction of the Induna.

In a resettlement scheme three basic considerations must be provided for. These are:

- a] the selection of the best land upon which the new consolidated field pattern is to be situated;
- b] the demarcation of grazing lands, which must be camped and fenced;
- c] the allocation of waste land or the land which is least valuable for use as residential land.

Normally a ward is planned on the basis of neighbourhood unit principles in which each neighbourhood unit possesses a residential area with a certain number of families located within easy walking distance of the new fields and grazing camps. All arable lands are beaconed and numbered, and allotted by the Chief. The individual fields are registered in the name of the plot holder, who is provided with a certificate which is documentary proof of his registration as a plot holder. All arable lands are protected by means of training banks and grass strips which protect them against erosion.

The planning standards which have been suggested for the Bantu areas of Natal are as follows:

- 1] In the residential areas each family is allotted half an acre of ground for the establishment of a homestead and garden.
- 2] Eight acres of arable land for each household.
- 3] Thirty-six acres of grazing land with a capacity for twelve cattle units per household.

The total area per household suggested therefore is approximately forty-four acres.

When planning was first introduced a classification of farmers into first grade, second grade and third grade categories according to the ability of the farmer was considered desirable. This practice has now been discontinued.

It is estimated by the department that the average income which can be earned from the holding of a household per year is approximately R120. In practice it is normally impossible to adhere strictly to the planning standards in terms of the household-land ratios, and allocations in many cases fall considerably below the standards laid down for planning. It is probable therefore that increasing population pressure over grazing and lack of arable land are likely to inhibit progress in the future unless a considerable emigrant flow to non-agricultural centres takes place.

#### The Mzindusi Resettlement Scheme:

The Mzindusi resettlement scheme is located on the link road between Cato Ridge and the Nagel Dam on the

Umgeni River. It is the first resettlement scheme in the southern portion of the Inanda reserve. The resettlement scheme will form the focus of discussion at route point 5, Figure 7.




## 6. The Hammarsdale Border Industrial Area:

### The Border Industries Policy:

The decentralisation of industry has been seriously discussed since the Second World War but it is only in the past eight years that a definite policy for the decentralisation of industry has emerged. The establishment of a textile factory near King William's Town, and a hardboard factory at Estcourt represent early examples of decentralised industries but the first official steps to bring about a wider dispersal of industry came about in 1960. It was in that year that the border industries policy was announced.

The policy is based upon the belief that over-concentration of economic activity is taking place in the major urban areas of the country, to which too large a volume of Bantu labour has streamed since the Second World War. Secondly, it takes into consideration the problem of underdevelopment in the Bantu reserves themselves. Thirdly, the policy is part of the concept of separate development, and springs originally from the recommendations of the Tomlinson Commission's Report of 1955, for the social, constitutional and economic development of the Bantu areas.



-  Residential Area
-  Privately Owned Residential
-  Arable Field



-  Grazing
-  Irrigation Scheme

FIG. 7.

Border industries areas are defined as places within a reasonable distance of Bantu homelands, where industrial development may take place through White entrepreneurship and control, and which are so situated that Bantu workers can maintain their residence in the Bantu area and move readily to their place of employment, preferably daily. Since labour is not the only factor determining industrial location other locational facilities and basic services must be borne in mind. In certain localities, within approximately thirty miles of Bantu homeland areas, provision has been made for the housing of workers on a weekly basis.

The first areas selected for border industries were those which already had most of the basic essentials for the establishment of industry, and a potential for future growth. Hammarsdale, situated roughly half-way between Durban and Pietermaritzburg, is one such locality. Pietermaritzburg itself has also recently been proclaimed a border industry area.

In order to encourage industrialists to establish in demarcated border industry areas, the State has instituted certain measures for their assistance and encouragement. A permanent committee for the location of industry and the development of border areas has been established for the implementation of the development programme. The assistance measures include:

1] Income Tax Concessions:

- (a) An additional 10% tax allowance on the cost



of power, water and transport in the case of new undertakings and, in selected cases in respect of expansion of existing undertakings. This concession applies for a minimum period of five years from the date of establishment of a new undertaking, or the date of expansion of an existing undertaking.

- (b) An initial allowance of 30% of the cost of machinery.
- (c) Investment allowances of 25% of the cost of factory buildings and 35% of the cost of machinery.
- (d) Encouragement, on a selective basis, of existing undertakings in metropolitan areas which contemplate expansion, to expand in decentralised areas by allowing them to take into account, for taxation purposes, double the additional administrative and manufacturing costs which may be incurred over the first five years, as calculated by the Permanent Committee.
- (e) Inclusion of the cost of moving a factory to a border area, in the capital amount on which the annual depreciation allowances are calculated.

## 2] Industrial Sites and Factory Buildings:

- (a) Fully planned industrial townships are established where necessary, and factory buildings are erected and leased, with the option to purchase. Specially favourable terms apply in the case of the textile industry and this benefit can also be extended to other selected industries.
- (b) Reimbursement to an entrepreneur, in special cases in remote areas, of a maximum of 20% of the building costs of a factory or a guarantee to a maximum of 40% of the building costs for a period of ten years. (The guarantee is intended to make it easier for industrialists to obtain mortgage loans from

financial institutions.)

The reimbursement can also be made to the Industrial Development Corporation, a Government-sponsored industrial development and financing corporation, in special cases. The benefits are in such cases, passed to the industrialists in the form of reduced rentals and reduced selling prices.

### 3] Financial Assistance:

Financial assistance is made available by the Industrial Development Corporation in the form of share capital or loans on favourable terms.

### 4] Basic Facilities:

In general, the border areas are already well provided with basic facilities such as power, water and transport. The power supply systems of the Electricity Supply Commission are, nevertheless, extended to new areas where economically justified. Similarly, railway services are extended by the South African Railways where justified. In addition, the following special measures apply:

- (a) Where necessary water is supplied by the Department of Water Affairs at special tariffs in bulk to local authorities or directly to large consumers.
- (b) In the case of selected points of growth, funds are made available at low rates of interest for the provision of rail facilities in industrial townships.
- (c) The road transportation requirements of industrial undertakings in border areas are accorded special attention.
- (d) The cost of power of individual undertakings can be subsidised in exceptional cases.
- (e) A rebate of 10% on the cost of rail and road motor service tariffs in respect of all

industrial products manufactured in the Ciskei/Transkei area and consigned to places outside this area.

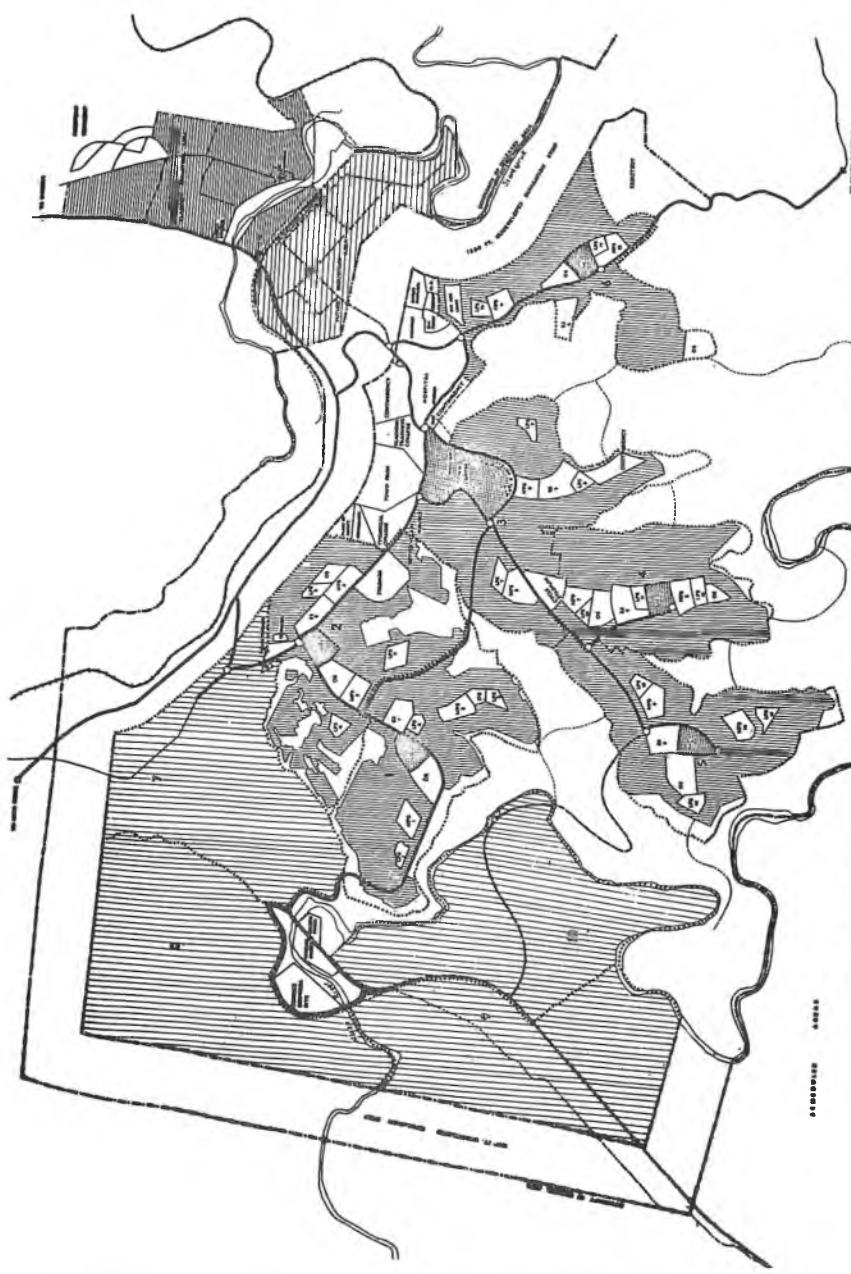
5] Labour:

- (a) Maintenance of the principle of wage differentiation in respect of border areas in so far it is justified by lower productivity and a lower cost of living.
- (b) The provision of technical and vocational training for the Bantu with a view to meeting the need for trained labour in the Border Areas.

6] Housing:

- (a) Financial and technical assistance are extended to industrialists in the provision of houses for White key personnel (houses for Bantu workers are being provided by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development).
- (b) Depreciation allowances for tax purposes of 125% on the cost of houses provided for White key personnel (35% in the first year and 10% per annum for the succeeding nine years).

The 1967 Physical Planning and Utilisation of Resources Act has enabled the Department of Planning to exercise considerably greater control over the establishment of new industries and over the expansion of existing concerns. It empowers the Minister of Planning inter alia to refuse permission to industrialists, located in the main urban areas, to expand their Bantu labour forces. The concept of restricting industrial growth in metropolitan areas is not dissimilar to that applied in Britain and France. The South African legislation



# NOTATION

- STREAMS AND RIVERS
- ROADS
- FOOTPATHS
- SUGGESTED FUTURE ROADS
- TOWN AND RESIDENTIAL UNIT BOUNDARIES
- SUGGESTED FUTURE RESIDENTIAL UNIT BOUNDARIES
- RELEASED AREA BOUNDARIES
- UNIT AND TOWN CENTRE
- RESIDENTIAL
- FUTURE RESIDENTIAL
- INDUSTRIAL
- FUTURE INDUSTRIAL AREA

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differs however, in that it makes expansion of the labour force the criterion, whilst the overseas countries use floorspace as an index.

By 1967 a total of 57,100 jobs had been created in the border and development areas of South Africa. This level of employment compares not unfavourably with the total increment in the manufacturing labour force between 1960 and 1967, which was approximately 330,000. For Bantu workers only, the comparison is more favourable and the increase in the border and development areas has been approximately 45,000 compared with 161,000 workers in all areas.

#### THE HAMMARSDALE-ELANGENI BORDER INDUSTRIAL AREA

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HammarSDale-Elangeni is one of the first border industry growth points developed under the border industries policy. The estate was established in 1961 and is situated midway between Durban and Pietermaritzburg on the main line of railway to the Witwatersrand, 24 miles from Durban. (Fig. 8)

The planning of the new town is in part based upon the development of land formerly privately owned by Bantu in released areas Nos. 23 and 52. The land adjoins areas purchased by the S.A.B.T. which stretch westwards towards the Umlazi Reserve within which it will ultimately be incorporated.

During the past five years the South African Bantu Trust has been in the process of purchasing the previously privately owned land for the purposes of the scheme. The land was owned chiefly by Bantu, but some Indian and White owners were present in the area. Approximately 600 pieces of land have had to be negotiated, and approximately 70% of the total area required has now been purchased.

The basic elements of the planning scheme at Hammarsdale comprise a tract of White owned land to the north of the main railway line, upon which an industrial estate and a European township have been laid out and established by the Industrial Development Corporation. To the south of the railway line, on land purchased by the South African Bantu Trust, a Bantu township, which is to be the residential area of the industrial workers, is at present being constructed. Land for the future extension of the township will subsequently be purchased from neighbouring Bantu owners by the South African Bantu Trust.

#### THE DEVELOPMENT PATTERN:

##### The Industrial Estate and the White Residential Area:

The Elangeni Industrial Estate situated on moderately flat land immediately north of the Hammarsdale railway station has been planned on modern lines by the Industrial Development Corporation which has been responsible also for the erection of modern factory buildings.

At present twelve industrial concerns have establishments on the estate. Of these, eleven firms are concerned with textile thread, and clothing manufacture, while one factory assembles sewing machines. The headquarters of a large-scale poultry undertaking is also located at Hammarsdale.

The employment of Bantu workers in the industries of the Elangeni Estate is at present estimated to be approximately 6,500. The mean size of establishments is therefore not inconsiderable. Bantu wages range from approximately R13 - R14 per month to over R20 per month.

No new factories are at present being developed on the Elangeni Estate and there is little evidence available to suggest what future expansion will take place. The Estate however, has been designed to accommodate 25 industrial concerns.

The White township to house workers in the Elangeni factories has been established to the north of the industrial area, on the road linking Hammarsdale to the main national road between Durban and Pietermaritzburg. The township at present contains approximately 50 dwellings which have been erected by the Industrial Development Corporation. An interesting feature of the White residential area has been the recent erection of duplex flatted-dwellings in the form of a terrace of ultra-modern architectural style. A large proportion of the families are European immigrants to South Africa

brought to Hammarsdale because of their specialist skills in the textile industry.

Many White workers, including the managerial groups do not live at Hammarsdale but travel daily from various parts of Durban by transport provided by industrial firms.

The Hammarsdale Bantu Township:

The Hammarsdale Bantu township is at present being developed to the south of the industrial area and the main railway line.

The land upon which the township is to grow, was privately owned, chiefly by Bantu owners and is known as Released Areas Nos. 23 and 52.

The original Bantu owners have an option either to move into a house in the township or to leave the area and settle elsewhere. They have, however, to meet certain qualifications before a house may be allocated. They must be Zulu, married or the head of a household, and employed in the Camperdown district. The township is not permitted to house non-Zulus. Although no statistical material is available, it is apparent that a not inconsiderable number of persons will not qualify for residence.

The township will ultimately occupy an area of 2,540 acres and has been planned on the neighbourhood unit principle. (Figure 6.) The six units will



ultimately possess 10,180 dwellings, and house a maximum population of 66,000 persons. The average household size is planned to be from 6 to 7 persons.

At present a contract has been signed for the erection of the first 2000 houses to be completed by March 1969. Ninety houses have been completed, of which 40 have already been allocated.

A new school is at present under construction and will be ready for occupation during June 1968. At present one secondary school and a number of primary schools are already in existence.

Houses within the township will be rented at a rental of R6.10 per month. Dwellings will be supplied with water, and streets will be lit.

The development plan includes provision for a hostel to house single male workers and also non-Zulu workers.

At present the township site has the appearance of a disorganised shack development area. This is a temporary situation, while development progresses. Many substantial privately owned dwellings, however, have been erected on the township land but will probably have to be demolished as the township grows.

Following upon the erection of the factories in the Elangeni Estate a considerable influx of population took place to the area. The population in the past five

years has trebled and is today of the order of 25,000 persons. No controls were exercised over the influx of population until July of 1967, at which time the first labour bureau for the area was established. Today, all employment in the factories must be channeled through the labour bureau. The introduction of influx control was instituted mainly as a check to the rapid growth of the shack settlement.

In order to overcome the problems of "shack farming", the Department of Bantu Administration has erected log cabins for the workers of certain of the Elangeni factories. The cabins are a temporary expedient and will ultimately be demolished as more substantial housing becomes available.

At present the shack development at Hammarsdale is served by water standpipes erected at strategic points. Piped water was introduced to the area primarily to overcome the dangers of typhoid. Other services of the developing township are at this stage somewhat rudimentary.

The only major health services are provided by a mobile medical clinic, which operates from the Botha's Hill T.B. settlement. The clinic is open twice a week, and has been operating at Hammarsdale for a number of years.

The township is served by a number of African owned shops, within the township area itself and by a shopping

parade with a range of essential shopping facilities. Shops have been leased to White shopkeepers.

The crime rate in the Hammarsdale Bantu township is high at present and is attributed mainly to the undesirable physical conditions in which the people must temporarily live.





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